

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----231035Z 094201 /15
O 221600Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MAPUTO 0446

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MZ, US
SUBJECT: MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CARTER TO MACHEL

REF: STATE 87500

1. SUMMARY: I HAD AN HOUR'S MEETING WITH MACHEL ON APRIL 21 AT WHICH I DELIVERED PRESIDENT CARTER'S MESSAGE AND REVIEWED THE STATE OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. I ALSO HAD OPPORTUNITY TO BRIEF MACHEL ON THE FIVE-POWER DEMARCHE TO VORSTER ON NAMIBIA, ABOUT WHICH MACHEL WAS NOT INFORMED AND WHICH SEEMED TO IMPRESS HIM. MACHEL WAS OBVIOUSLY PLEASED WITH THE CONTENTS AND TONE OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S MESSAGE AND SAID HE "WAS READY TO COOPERATE- TO SEEK TO DEVELOP BILATERAL RELATIONS. HE INDICATED HE WOULD PROBABLY BE WRITING DIRECTLY TO PRESIDENT CARTER AND SAID HE WANTED TO MEET WITH ME AFTER HE HAD MORE TIME TO STUDY THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.
END SUMMARY

2. THE MEETING I REQUESTED WITH PRESIDENT MACHEL WAS SCHEDULED FOR 1700 HOURS YESTERDAY. I WAS TOLD THAT I WOULD BE GIVEN 20 MINUTES, BUT IN FACT THE MEETING LASTED A LITTLE LESS THAN AN HOUR. DCM CARSON ACCOMPANIED ME. WITH MACHEL WERE DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER PANGUENE AND LUIS HONWANA, DEPUTY IN OFFICE OF PRESIDENT AND AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE TO PORTUGAL.

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EM MACHEL SEEMED TIRED AND RATHER LETHARGIC WHEN HE APPEARED FOR THE MEETING, BUT PERKED UP WHEN THE TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER WAS TRANSLATED FOR HIM. AS THE MEETING WENT ON HE BECAME MORE AND MORE VIVACIOUS. IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT PRESIDENT CARTER'S MESSAGE PLEASED HIM. SEVERAL TIMES WHEN THE LETTER WAS BEING READ HE TURNED TO ME AND NODDED APPROVINGLY, E.G. AT REFERENCE TO OUR AP-

PROACH TO SOVIET UNION ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, AT STATEMENT THAT DESPITE DIFFERENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS "WE CAN STILL STRENGTHEN OUR RELATIONS," AND AT MENTION THAT FOOD AID MIGHT BE AN APPROPRIATE FORM OF FUTURE ASSISTANCE.

4. FOLLOWING THE READING OF THE LETTER, I RAN THROUGH MY TALKING POINTS, CHANGING THE ORDER SLIGHTLY AS SEEMED APPROPRIATE TO THE OCCASION.

A. I BEGAN BY SAYING THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE LETTER WAS TWO-FOLD: TO INDICATE OUR INTEREST IN CONTINUING THE DIALOGUE WITH HIM ON SOUTHERN AFRICA AND OTHER ISSUES OF INTEREST TO OUR TWO COUNTRIES, AND TO DETERMINE IF THE GPRM WAS READY TO EXPLORE WAYS OF IMPROVING OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. I NOTED THAT WE WERE WELL AWARE THAT THERE WERE MAJOR POLICY DIFFERENCES AND THAT WE HAD CHOSEN DIFFERENT POLITICAL/ECONOMIC/SOCIAL SYSTEMS. NONETHELESS, THERE WERE NUMEROUS AREAS WHERE IT WAS IN OUR MUTUAL INTEREST TO COOPERATE AND IT WAS THE USG DESIRE TO SEARCH OUT THESE AREAS AND TO COOPERATE IN THEM TO STRENGTHEN AND DEVELOP OUR RELATIONSHIP.

B. I THEN TOOK A FEW MINUTES TO TALK ABOUT THE STATE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP. I EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR HIS WILLINGNESS DURING THE PAST YEAR TO RECEIVE ME AND OTHER AMERICANS TO DISCUSS SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES, ADDING THAT THESE EXCHANGES WERE USEFUL TO US SINCE WE WERE INTERESTED IN LEARNING THE VIEWS OF AFRICAN LEADERS. I SAID WE CONSIDERED HIS VIEWS IMPORTANT. I NOTED THAT SINCE MOZAMBIQUE'S INDEPENDENCE, TRADE WITH THE U.S. HAD EXPANDED, AND THAT IN 1976 WE PURCHASED 1.3 MILLION CONTOS
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(\$40.5 MILLION) OR ABOUT 20 PERCENT OF MOZAMBIQUE EXPORTS. I OBSERVED THAT PRIVATE U.S. FIRMS WERE PLAYING A POSITIVE ROLE IN MOZAMBIQUE'S DEVELOPMENT AND CITED GENERAL TIRE COMPANY WHICH WILL BEGIN PRODUCTION IN ITS NEW TIRE FACTORY IN SEPTEMBER OF THIS YEAR. I NOTED THAT THE EXIMBANK HAD LOANED THE COMPANY \$3.5 MILLION FOR EQUIPMENT. FINALLY, I EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR HIS HELP IN RELEASING THE MISSIONARIES.

C. I SAID THAT WE WERE PLEASED WE COULD BE OF ASSISTANCE TO MOZAMBIQUE IN ITS FIRST YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE, CITING THE \$10 MILLION GRANT, THE 22,000 TONS OF WHEAT AND THE FOOD DONATION FOR FLOOD RELIEF. I SAID THAT WE WERE READY TO DISCUSS HOW WE MIGHT BE OF FURTHER ASSISTANCE.

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ACTION SS-25

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D. OTHER MATTERS WE WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS, I ADDED, WOULD BE WAYS WE MIGHT IMPROVE MEDIA REPORTING ON OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND TRADE EXPANSION. I SAID WE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO LEARN THE GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS ON PRIVATE FOREIGN INVESTMENT.

E. I CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT IF HE SAW MERIT IN UNDERTAKING A QUIET AND FRANK EXPLORATION OF IMPROVING OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, WE WOULD APPRECIATE HIS VIEWS ON WHAT ISSUES SHOULD BE DISCUSSED AND HOW CONSULTATIONS MIGHT BE PURSUED.

5. WHEN I FINISHED MACHEL PAUSED FOR A MOMENT, THEN SAID THAT HE WOULD COMMENT FIRST ON ZIMBABWE, THEN NAMIBIA, THEN THE INDIAN OCEAN AND FINALLY ON BILATERAL RELATIONS. (I HAVE NOTED THAT IT IS OFTEN MACHEL'S STYLE TO SINGLE OUT WHAT HE THINKS ARE THE MAIN POINTS IN A MESSAGE OR PRESENTATION AND SYSTEMATICALLY COMMENT ON EACH TOPIC IN TURN.)

A. ZIMBABWE: MOZAMBIQUE'S CONCERN, SAID MACHEL, IS FIRST AND FOREMOST AFRICA, AND SOUTHERN AFRICA IN PARTICULAR. ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE, HE SAID, WE WANT TO ERADICATE RACISM AND APARTHEID FROM THE AREAS. "THE ARMED STRUGGLE HAS ONLY ONE OBJECTIVE -- TO OBTAIN LIBERTY AND FREEDOM." A SOLUTION FOR THE ZIMBABWE PROBLEM MUST BE FOUND THROUGH NEGOTIATION OR THE ARMED STRUGGLE. MACHEL NOTED THAT FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN HAD STRESSED THE NEED TO FIND A WAY TO STOP THE BLOODSHED. MOZAMBIQUE, MACHEL SAID,
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SHARES THIS OBJECTIVE.

B. NAMIBIA: MACHEL SAID NAMIBIA IS A "HOT" ISSUE; IT SHOULD NOT BE IGNORED." HE SAID THE U.S. MUST CONVINCE SOUTH AFRICA TO WITHDRAW FROM NAMIBIA AND TO ALLOW THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE TO

CHOOSE THEIR OWN LEADERS. THE TURNHALLE CONFERENCE SHOULD BE STOPPED. (AT THIS POINT I ASKED HIM IF HE KNEW OF THE APRIL 7 FIVE-NATION DEMARCHE, WHE HE HAD NOT, SO I RAN THROUGH THE TALKING POINTS PROVIDED IN STATE 78517. HE SEEMED TO BE GENUINELY SURPRISED BUT PLEASED WE HAD MADE THE DEMARCHE.) MACHEL CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT SOUTH AFRICA MUST DEAL WITH SWAPO; IT IS RECOGNIZED BY THE OAU AND THE UN AND MUST BE ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE IN TALKS ABOUT NAMIBIA'S FUTURE.

C. INDIAN OCEAN, DETENTE, SALT: MACHEL SAID HE WAS VERY MUCH INTERESTED IN THE THREE SUBJECTS, BUT WOULD NOT COMMENT BEFORE HE HAD TIME TO STUDY WHAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAD WRITTEN. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD NO DOUBT BE IN TOUCH WITH ME LATER TO DISCUSS THEM. "THE SMALL POWERS AS WELL AS THE SUPER POWERS ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THESE MATTERS. FOR THE MOMENT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT DETENTE SHOULD NOT BE AN EXCUSE TO TRANSFER TENSION FROM ONE AREA TO ANOTHER. AFRICA MUST NOT BECOME A LABORATORY FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF HUMANITY."

D. BILATERAL RELATIONS: MACHEL BEGAN BY SAYING THAT DESPITE OUR DIFFERENCES, THERE ARE AREAS OF MUTUAL INTEREST IN WHICH WE CAN COOPERATE. WE WANT THE SAME THINGS YOU DO, HE SAID. THE DIFFERENCE OFTEN IS IN THE METHOD BY WHICH WE SEEK TO OBTAIN THESE OBJECTIVES. IT IS TRUE, HE ADDED, THAT IN THE PAST WE HAVE HAD PROBLEMS AND DIFFERENCES WITH THE U.S. WE BOTH PROFESSED TO BE AGAINST PORTUGUESE COLONIAL RULE, BUT THE METHODS WE APPLIED TO END COLONIALISM WERE DIFFERENT. WE CHOSE THE ARMED STRUGGLE. YOU URGED NEGOTIATIONS, ALTHOUGH PRESIDENTS JOHNSON AND NIXON ACTIVELY SUPPORTED PORTUGAL. BY SO DOING YOU SUPPORTED A LOST AND UNJUST CAUSE. YOUR METHODS WERE WRONG. BUT, AS I TOLD ASSISTANT SECRETARY EASUM IN OCTOBER 1974, WE WERE READY TO ENTER INTO
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DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH YOU. WE ARE NOW READY TO COOPERATE IN SEEKING TO DEVELOP OUR RELATIONSHIP. WE WILL STUDY THE POSSIBLE AREAS OF COOPERATION AND BE IN TOUCH WITH YOU.

7. COMMENT: MACHELS INITIAL REACTION TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S LETTER IS MOST ENCOURAGING. HIS STATEMENT THAT HE IS READY TO COOPERATE IN SEEKING TO DEVELOP OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WAS UNEQUIVOCAL. THAT MACHEL MAY BE READY TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITIES OF IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONSHIP IS SUPPORTED BY (A) THE STATEMENT MADE BY MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT MARCELINO DOS SANTOS TO CONGRESSMAN DIGGS IN NOVEMBER THAT DESPITE POLICY DIFFERENCES THE USG AND MOZAMBIQUE SHOULD LOOK FOR WAYS TO COOPERATE WITH EACH OTHER (MAPUTO 1376 OF 1976), (B) THE COMMEND MADE TO ME THIS MORNING BY FOREIGN MINISTER CHISSANO (BEING REPORTED SEPTTEL) THAT MACHEL HAD MENTIONED TO HIM SEVERAL WEEKS AGO THAT HE WISHED TO MEET WITH ME TO DISCUSS U.S.-MOZAMBIQUE RELATIONS, AND (C) THE IMPRESSION OF SOME OF MY DIPLOMATIC COLLEAGUES (E.G.

FRENCH AND SWEDES) THAT MACHEL MAY NOW BE READY TO TURN HIS ATTENTION TO HIS RELATIONS WITH THE WEST. SOME OF MY COLLEAGUES THINK THAT MACHEL IS CONCERNED THAT OUTSIDES MAY THINK MOZAMBIQUE IS TOO CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. PERSONALLY, I DO NOT BELIEVE THIS BOTHERS MACHEL. IN ANY EVENT MACHEL CLEARLY UNDERSTANDS THAT THE BALL IS NOW IN HIS COURT, AND THAT WE ARE AWAITING HIS NEXT MOVE. I EXPECT THAT ONCE HE RETURNS FROM HIS TRIP TO THE NORDIC COUNTRIES HE WILL BE SENDING ANOTHER LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER AND THAT HE WILL CALL ME IN FOR A FOLLOW-UP DISCUSSION TO THE ONE WE HAD YESTERDAY.
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